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## STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK.<sup>1</sup>

### DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 3

#### WORDS WITH GENITIVE IN -ωτος

BY CARL D. BUCK

1. *Verbal adjectives of the type ἡμιβρώς.*—This type has been discussed in connection with that of προβλήτς (above, pp. 173 ff.), with mention of the more obvious derivatives belonging to it, namely, those in -βλως, -γνως, -βρως, -τρως, -στρως, -πτως.

Two other verbal adjectives are formed by analogy from apparent roots in -ω: ἀξωτες· οἱ μὴ εἰς τὰ συνεστῶτα παρόντες Hesych., from ξω-, originally ξωσ-, of ἔξωμένος, etc. (cf. ἔξωμένοι· παρόντες. ἔτοιμοι Hesych.); ἀβῶς· ἀφθογγος Hesych., which, in spite of the accent given, is not from \*ἀβοάς, but formed from the contracted βω- of ξβωσα, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Substantive forms from roots in ω are: δώς Hes. *Op.* 354 (nom. only); πλῶς ‘swimmer,’ name of a fish, Ath. 288 B, etc.; εύρως ‘mold,’ probably from ἐ-ϝω-τ (root ϝer-, Skt. *var-* ‘cover’),<sup>4</sup> and the name of the Spartan Εἴλωτες probably from ἐ-ϝελω-τ, with prothetic vowel and a form of the root seen in ἀλίσκομαι, ἀλῶναι, ἀλωτός.<sup>5</sup> φῶς ‘man,’ which has τ-inflection from the earliest time, probably belongs here, rather than with the following having secondary τ, but its derivation is uncertain.<sup>6</sup>

2. *Nouns with secondary τ-inflection, like γέλως.*—In Homer there are no τ-forms of γέλως, ἔρως, or ιδρώς; and χρώς has only once χρωτός, twice acc. χρῶτ', beside usual χρός, χρόα. Of these, γέλως and ἔρως

<sup>1</sup> See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Epic.* 311; Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 123, 168, Brugmann, *Grd.*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 423.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 251.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Grd.*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 536, connects it with Skt. *bhās* ‘light, might,’ etc.

are inherited *s*-stems (cf. *γελαστός*, *έραστός*), parallel to Lat. *honōs*, etc., and were originally inflected in Greek like the feminines *aiδώς*, *ήώς*. The original stem of *χρώς* is uncertain, but it was probably diphthongal, with nom. -*ως* from -*ōis* (cf. Lat. *rēs*, Skt. *rās*, from \**rēis*), gen. -*oos* from -*ōlos*. *iδρώς* is based upon an earlier \**iδ-po-* with suffix -*ro-* (cf. Lett. pl. *swidri* 'sweat'),<sup>1</sup> but was drawn into the same type as *χρώς*.<sup>2</sup>

But after Homer they regularly have *τ*-inflection. Thus:

*γέλως*, *γέλωτος* in Herodotus and in Attic writers, except that the poets have acc. sg. *γέλων* beside *γέλωτα*. The compounds show occasional forms of the Attic second declension, as *κατάγελων* Ar. *Eq.* 319, Philost. 303, acc. pl. *κλαυσίγελως* Xen. *Hell.* 7. 2. 9, acc. pl. *φιλόγελως* Theophr. ap. Ath. 261, *d*. But the *τ*-inflection is usual, as *καταγέλωτα* Aesch. *Ag.* 1264, *ἡδυγέλωτα* h. Hom. 17.37, *φιλογέλωτας* Plat. *Civ.* 388, *e*, *κλαυσιγέλωτα* Dem. Phal. 28, Apollod. ap. Ath. 591c, *κλαυσιγέλωσιν* Plut. *Mor.* 1097f, *ὑβριγέλωτας* and *αισχρογέλωτας* Manetho 4. 280, 283, *έγερσιγέλωτι* Anth. Pal. 11. 60, *φιλοπουλογέλωτα* Anth. Pal. 5. 243.<sup>3</sup>

*ἔρως*, *ἔρωτος* in Simon., Pindar, Hdt., h. Hom., Aesch., Soph., Eur., and all Attic prose (acc. sg. *ἔρων* only in late poets): The compounds show the same inflection, as *δυσέρωτας* Thuc. 6. 13, *ἀντέρωτα* Plato *Phaedr.* 255 *d*, etc. Inflection according to the Attic second declension, as given by Choeroboscus 1. 252. 7 (quoted in footnote 3), is not otherwise attested.

With the exception of *δυσέρως*, *ἀντέρως*, and *παιδέρως* (Teleclid., Meineke 2. 378 = *παιδεραστής*, Alex., Meineke 3. 423 'rouge'), the compounds are very late. Several are names of plants, as *παιδέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 22. 76, Paus. 2. 10. 5, Diosc. 3. 19, *ἀνακαμψέρως* Plin. *N.H.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 15. 261; Brugmann, *Grd.* 2. 1. 353.

<sup>2</sup> The forms in our Homeric text, acc. *iδρῶ*, dat. *iδρῷ*, probably stand for *iδρέα* and *iδροῦ*. Cf. Kühner-Blass 1. 510.

<sup>3</sup> It is the practice of our lexicons and editions to accent compounds of *γέλως* (and of *ἔρως* and those in -*κέρως*) as proparoxytone. But the statements of the grammarians upon which this practice is based are almost certainly to be interpreted as applying only to the forms of the Attic second declension, which were affected by the analogy of *ἀνάπτεως*, etc. Cf. Hdn. 1. 244. 30 ff. *ἔρως χρυσέρως*, *iδρώς λυσιδρώς*. *τὸ δὲ δύσερως καὶ φιλόγελως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Ἀττικά δύτα προπαροξύνονται*, in the light of Choerob. 1. 252. 4 ff. *ἔρως ἔρωτος*, *χρυσέρως χρυσέρωτος*, *γέλως γέλωτος*, *φιλογέλως φιλογέλωτος*. *εἰ δὲ Ἀττικά εἰσιν ἀποβαλῆ τοῦ ο ποιοῦσι τὴν γενικήν, οἷον δὲ δύσερως τοῦ δύσερω, δὲ φιλόγελως τοῦ φιλόγελω, δὲ χρυσόκερως τοῦ χρυσόκερω*.

24. 167, Plut. *Mor.* 939 D, Hesych.; of gems, as *παιδέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 123, *πανέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 178; or animals, as *χηνέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 10. 56. Others occur only in scholiasts, grammarians, or lexicographers (see word-list).

*ἰδρώς, ιδρῶτος* in Hes., Soph., Ar., etc., and in all Attic prose: So also in compounds, as *εὐίδρωτες, δυσίδρωτες* Theophr. fr. 9. 20, acc. pl. neut. *εὐίδρωτα* Aristot. *Prob.* 2. 17.

*χρώς, χρωτός*: while forms of the older, and usual Homeric, inflection, gen. *χρόος*, etc., continue in use in poetry (in Euripides they are about twice as common as the *τ*-forms), and Herodotus has once *χροῖ*, the *τ*-inflection, occurring already in Homer, Hesiod (*χρῶτα Op.* 555), and Pindar (*χρῶτα, χρωτὶ* beside *χροῖ*), is uniform in Attic and later prose, except for the Attic phrase *ἐν χρῷ*. The compounds likewise regularly have the *τ*-inflection, though a few occur only in poetical forms of the older type, as *ταμεστιχροα* Hom., *γλαυκόχροα* Pind., *ἀπαλόχροος* Hes., h. Hom., Theogn., and Herodotus also has *μελάγχροες* (2. 104).

The secondary *τ*-inflection in these four nouns must have its source in the inherited *τ*-inflection of the verbal adjectives in *-ώς*, in spite of the fact that the analogy is a purely formal one, without semantic support. Semantic association would be easier for the adjective compounds, but the evidence is against our assuming that the *τ*-inflection started in them.

*γάλως* seems to have been affected by *γέλως*, etc., in late times. At least Herodian (2. 234. 9) gives gen. *γάλω* and *γάλωτος*.

*κόλλωτες*, name of a kind of stone in Egypt (Ps. Plut. *de fluv.* 16. 2), presumably represents an Egyptian word, but whether the *τ* had any basis in the native form is unknown.

3. *Compounds in -κέρως*.—The adjective compounds in *-κέρως* from *-κέραος* regularly follow the Attic second declension, and *τ*-forms are unknown in Attic. The earliest example of the secondary *τ*-inflection is *δικέρωτα* h. Hom. 17. 2. Similar forms of eleven other compounds occur in late writers, as *ρινοκέρωτας* Strabo 774, *ρινοκέρωτος* Ael. *N.H.* 17. 44 (so *rhinocerōs, -ōtis* regularly in Latin authors), *aegocerōtis* Lucr. 5. 614, *aιγοκέρωτα* Jul. *Orat.* 4. 156 a, *platycerōtās* and *strepsicerōtī* Plin. *N.H.* 11. 124, *οιοκέρωτες, τετρακέρωτες*, and *εύρυκέρωτας* Opp. *Cyn.* 2. 96, 2. 378, 3. 2, *δλιγοκέρωτας* and *εύκέρωτος*

Geopon. 18. 1. 3, *μονοκερώτων* LXX Ps. 21. 22, *monocerōtem* Plin. N.H. 8. 76, *ἀργικέρωτας* Diod. Sic. 7. 17.

Cf. the statement of Thomas Magister (p. 78 Ritschl) τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν κοινοὶ διὰ τοῦ τοῦ κλίνουσι μονόκερως, μονοκέρωτος, αἰγόκερως, αἰγοκέρωτος· οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ, χρυσόκερως, χρυσόκερω.

4. *The neuters oūs, ὡτός, φῶς, φωτός.*—These have no historical connection with other words in gen. -*ωτος*. *ὡτός* is contracted from earlier *οὐτός*, for which see above, p. 24. *ῶς* in two *κοινή* inscriptions (BCH. 2. 322, Delos; IG. 7. 3498 Oropus) may be a genuine Ionic form = Dor. *ῷς* (Theocr. 11. 32), but may also be a new formation to *ὼτός*, etc. *φωτός* is formed to *φῶς* after its contraction from *φάος*.

5. *Personal names.*—There is no productive type of personal names in -*ως*, -*ωτος* parallel to that in -*ης*, -*ητος*. Only *ἔρως* and *γέλως* play any rôle, and that not until late times. *Γέλως*, *\*Ἐρως*, and a dozen ending in -*έρως* are quotable as men's names, but all from the Roman period.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Attic inscriptions of the Roman imperial period collected in *IG. 3* show *Γέλως* (11 times), *\*Ἐρως* (30), *'Αντέρως* (7), *\*Ἐρμέρως* (13), *Μουσέρως* (1), *Νικέρως* (4), *Νυμφέρως* (1), *Παιδέρως* (6), *Συνέρως* (3), *Φιλέρως* (29), *Χρυσέρως* (13).<sup>2</sup> *Γέλως* I have not found elsewhere, but *\*Ἐρως* and most of the compounds named occur also in late inscriptions of other parts of Greece, *Φιλέρως* being the most widespread, *Νικέρως*, *\*Ἐρμέρως*, and *Χρυσέρως* next. Furthermore, we find *Πανέρως* at Naples (cf. also Suet. Ner. 30), *IG. 14. 734*, *Πειθέρως* at Thespiae *IG. 7. 1777* (which also contains *'Αντέρως* and *Φιλέρως*; 1776 has *Μουσέρως*), *'Αλιπέρως* in Asia Minor, *Papers Am. School at Athens* 2. No. 170, and *Θαλασσέρως* Alciph. 1. 18. *Μελίχρως* occurs *IG. 5. 958, 959*, but with gen. *Μελιχρόος*. For late Greek forms like *'Απολλῶς*, *'Απολλῶτος*, see above, p. 186.

6. *Other proper names.*—As the name of a god only *\*Ἐρως* is early, later followed by *'Αντέρως*, Paus., Ovid., etc. *Πτέρως* Plat. *Phaedr.*

<sup>1</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 115, remark: "Bis auf *Νικέρως* und *\*Ἐρμέρως* erst in spät-römischer Zeit nachweisbar." But of these two also all the occurrences I have found are late.

<sup>2</sup> There are no examples in *IG. 2* (to time of Augustus) except *'Αντέρως* 1052, the date of which is uncertain.

252 C, the name which the gods give to "Ἐρως, is an obvious play upon Ἐρως and πτερόν. Γέλως was worshiped at Sparta, Plut. *Cleom.* 9.

There are no ethnica in -ῶτες, except of foreign source, as Ἀγνῶτες, Steph. Byz., a Celtic people.

## WORD-LIST

GENITIVE IN -ωτος<sup>1</sup>

(Masculine substantives unless otherwise indicated)

οὐσ ὡτός, τό Hdt. + [p. 298.]	Εἰλωτες [p. 295.]
ἀβώς δ, ἥ Hesych. [p. 295.]	κόλλωτες Ps. Plut. [p. 297.]
δώς, ἥ Hes. [p. 295.]	πλώς Epich. ap. Ath. [p. 295.]
ἀξώτες Hesych. [p. 295.]	-γνώς, ὁ, ἥ [p. 174.]
γάλως, ἥ Hdn. [p. 297.]	ἀ- Hom. +
ἀγχιβλώς, ὁ, ἥ Et. M. [p. 176.]	ἀρι- Pind. + [p. 176.]
Γέλως [p. 298.]	ἀλλο- Emped.
γέλως Hdt. + [p. 296.]	Ἀγνῶτες [p. 299.]
-γέλως [p. 296.]	-βρώς, ὁ, ἥ [p. 174.]
κατα- Aesch. +	ἀ- Paul. Sil.
παλιγ- Philo (but Cohn-Wendland III. 84 read πάλιν γέλωτος).	ἄλι- Lyc.
νίβρι-, ὁ, η Manetho.	ἥμι Antiph., Epicr.
ἐγερσι-, ὁ, ἥ Paul. Sil.	παιδο- Eust.
κλαυσι- Dem. Phal. +	νεο- Hipp.
ἐκ- Poll.	σαρκο- Moschio
ἀχρειο- Cratin.	ῶμο- Soph., Eur.
φιλο-, ὁ, ἥ Plat. +	οῖνο- Nic.
νύρο-, ὁ, ἥ Phryn.	ἀνδρο- Eur.
αισχρο-, ὁ, ἥ Manetho	σιδηρο- Soph.
μυσο-, ὁ, ἥ Alex. Aet.	χειρο- Stesich.
πραν-, ὁ, ἥ Licymn., Anth. Pal.	κρατο- Lyc.
ἡδν-, ὁ, ἥ h. Hom., Anth. Pal.	τριχό- Ar. + [p. 176.]
πολυ-, ὁ, ἥ Plut. +	βαρν- Soph.
φιλοπουλυ- Anth. Pal.	ἰδρώς Hes. + [p. 297.]

<sup>1</sup> Not included are the numerous foreign proper names in -ῶς, -ῶτος (-ως, -ωtos), for which cf. above, p. 186. It will be understood that in the case of words in which the τ-inflection is secondary the reference is to the first appearance of the word in this inflection. Of compounds in -κέρως only those are listed which are quotable with τ-inflection. But compounds in -ιδρως, -έρως, and -χρως, since in these τ-inflection had become the normal one, are listed in full, including some which are quotable only in the nominative singular, and also, in the case of -χρως, the few (distinguished by parentheses) which are quotable only in the type without τ. Proper names are listed without references, as, for the very few not to be found in Pape, these have been given in the text.

- ίδρως, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.]  
καθίδρως Basil  
δυσίδρως Theophr.  
λυσίδρως Choerob.  
εὐίδρως Arist., Theophr.  
έρως Simon.+[p. 296.]  
Ἐρως [p. 298.]  
-έρως [pp. 296, 298.]  
παιδ- Teleclid.+  
Παιδ-  
Πειθ-  
κακ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.  
Νικ-  
Φιλ-  
Ἐρμ-  
παν- Plin.  
Παν-  
θρην- Poll.  
μυσην- Poll.  
χην-, ἡ Plin.  
Συν-  
Ἄλιτ-  
μισ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.  
Θαλασσ-  
δυσ-, ὁ, ἡ Thuc.+  
λυσ- Schol. Verg.  
Μουσ-  
Χρυσ-  
ἀντ- Plat.+  
Ἄντ-  
αἰτ- Theod. Prod.  
πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ Hdn.  
Νυμφ-  
ἀνακαμψ- Plin., Plut., Hesych.  
-κέρως, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 297-8.]  
τετρα- Opp.  
ἀργ- Diod.  
δι- h. Hom.+  
στρεψ- Plin.  
αἴγο Luer., Jul., Plin.  
διαίγο- Gepon.  
οἰο- Opp.  
ρύνο- Strabo+  
μονο- LXX, Plin.
- εύ- Gepon.  
εύρυ- Opp.  
πλατυ- Plin., Diose.  
Πτέρως [p. 298.]  
ἀτρώς, ὁ, ἡ Paus., Choerob. [p. 174.]  
φυλλοστρώς, ὁ, ἡ Theocr., Anth.  
Pal. [p. 174.]  
εἰρώς Simon.+[p. 295.]  
χρώς Hom.+[p. 297.]  
-χρως, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.]  
ἄ- Plat., Hipp.  
μελάγ- Eur.+  
πάγ- Synes.  
δί- Aristot.  
μελί- Plin.+  
(Μελί-) [p. 298.]  
τρί- Aristot.  
(πυρί- Aristot. Galen)  
ἀνθεσί- Matro ap. Ath.  
(ταμεσί- Hom.)  
τρεψί- Aristot.  
θρυψί Hesych.  
ἀργό- Theod. Prodr.  
πελαργό- Lyc., Eust.  
μολυβδό- Galen.  
ῥοδό- Theocr.  
ξανθό- Nausic.  
λειό- Aristot.  
πολιό- Eur., Ar.  
ἀλλοτριό Anth. Pal.  
φοινικό Sophronius.  
κροκό Nicet. Eugen.  
(γλαυκό- Pind.)  
λευκό- Eubul.+  
նուլենկό- Hipp.  
(ἀπαλό- h. Hom.+)  
(ποικιλό Ath.)  
ἀλλό- Eur.  
αἰολό- Eur.  
ὅμό- Aristot.+  
μελανό- Eur.+  
κνανό- Eur.+  
παρθενό- Anth. Pal.  
τερενό- Anaxandr. ap. Ath.

-χρως, ὁ, ἡ	λεπτό-	Eur., CGL.
κελαινό-	δύσ-	Hipp.
οίνο-	εῦ-	Ar.+
χιονό-	πολύ-	Aristot.
μονό-	ἀπτώς, ὁ, ἡ	Pind.+[p. 174.]
λιπαρό-	φώς	Hom.+[p. 295.]
τακερό-	δαμασι-, ὁ, ἡ	Simon.
γλυκερό-	φῶς	Plat.+[p. 26.]
ένερό-	ἄ-	Eust.
τρυφερό-	πλησί-, ὁ, ἡ	Theol. Ar.
κηρό-	λεψί-, ὁ, ἡ	Eust.
έρυθρό-	σκιό-, τό	Heliod.
ἰσχυρό-	λυκό-, τό	Ael., Schol. Il.
ἀλφιτό-	σεληνό-, τό	Chaerem. ap. Ath.
γαλακτό-	αὐτό-, τό	Greg. Naz.